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TIMOR DURING WORLD WARS I AND II

SOME NOTES ON SOURCES

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After 10 years of bibliographical research about East Timor and of putting together a reasonably comprehensive study-collection of published material about East Timor, I find that there is very little to which I can direct researchers seeking information about that Portuguese colony within the context of World War I (1914-1918); there is, however, a considerable body of material about the colony during World War II (1939-1945), owing to the war in East and Southeast Asia, Australia's concern about the strategic position of Timor, the Dutch and Australian landings on that Portuguese territory in violation of Portuguese neutrality, and the subsequent Japanese occupation of the colony (1942-1945).

These notes have been prepared in response to a request by a Portuguese military historian for information on sources for the history of East Timor during both World Wars, and it is probable that he will already be familiar with most of the Portuguese-language material. However, as he might not be familiar with some of the material in other languages and as these notes may be of interest to others who might not be familiar with much of the Portuguese-language material, I shall include all the references known to me. I have not yet investigated unpublished reports and contemporary newspaper articles for those periods. These notes are intended merely as a guide, and not as a critical summary.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

The island of Timor lies near the eastern end of the Indonesian Archipelago, in one of its most underdeveloped regions. The western end of the island was ruled by The Netherlands. The Portuguese ruled the eastern end of the island and the enclave of Oe-Cusse on the north-western coast. The Dutch had held political, commercial and maritime supremacy in the archipelago for more than two centuries. Portuguese Timor was the last remnant of Portugal's former power in the region—an antipodean Lusitanian outpost in a Dutch sea, far from the regular routes to the rest of the Portuguese Empire. A land of much promise—and of little fulfilment; an almost constant drain on the national treasury; its principal exports subject to Dutch market and shipping monopolies. Relations on the island between the two ruling powers had rarely been very cordial.

WORLD WAR I

The outbreak of World War I came only 2 years after the end of the last great revolt by some of the Timorese kingdoms against the Portuguese rulers, and only 4 years after the fall of the Portuguese monarchy and the establishment of the Republic. One of the most dedicated and efficient governors in Timor's history, Naval First Lieutenant Filomeno da Câmara Melo Cabral, was in office (1910-1917). With the exception of some incidents in the Southwest Pacific and Indian Oceans, Timor was at a great distance from any of the theatres of war. Portugal had acted against the Germans in Southwest and East Africa. The turbulence of domestic affairs had, however, kept Portugal from declaring for one side or the other in the wider struggle until, following the commencement in February 1916 by Portugal of the requisitioning of German vessels sheltering in her ports, the German Government declared war on Portugal. The main body of the Portuguese Army served with distinction and heavy losses in France in 1917-1918. The Netherlands remained neutral—a cause for further anxiety in Timor.

Chapter IX: "Timor na Primeira Grande Guerra" [Timor in the First Great War], pp.259-278, in *Timor na História de Portugal. III Volume [Timor in the History of Portugal]*, by Luna de Oliveira [Humberto de Luna da Costa Freire e Oliveira], Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952, is the only substantial mention of the subject which I have found in any of the books on the history of Timor. The main items in this chapter are the delays and complications in the acquisition of a new government vessel for the colony; a confidential letter dated 24th December 1914 from Filomeno da Câmara to the Minister for the Colonies analysing the politics of the First World War; problems with the Dili Port Authority; the state of armaments; and anxiety about Dutch troop concentrations near the border in 1917 when Anglo-Dutch relations were at a low ebb, and the Portuguese could not be sure whether the movements were offensive or defensive.

That chapter and volume end abruptly with the situation as of January 1918. A review of Volume III in *Revista Militar*, Lisboa, 2o. século, vol. 5, nos. 8-9, pp.647-649, Agosto-Setembro 1953, stated that Volume IV was shortly to be released. Volume IV would probably have covered the period from January 1918 to 1950, but there is no evidence that it was ever released. In 1980 a reliable informant told me that it had been printed, but had suffered the same fate as the report of the World War II Governor of Timor, Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho, i.e., it had been suppressed.

The only other Portuguese-language reference that I have to World War I is in the ecclesiastical bulletin of the Diocese of Dili, *Seara*, Ano VII, No. 2, Maio-Outubro 1955, which reprints a story by Paulo Braga from the magazine *Ver e Crer*, No.9, Janeiro 1946, entitled "Um soldado português dominou o 'Emden'" [A Portuguese soldier dominated the 'Emden']. This deals with a little-known incident in the story of the German cruiser *Emden* which carried out a series of actions against Allied shipping and ports from the outbreak of war until it was sunk by the Australian cruiser *Sydney* in November 1914. On 24th August the *Emden* anchored between the eastern tip of Timor and the islet of Jaco in order to take on coal from the supply-ship *Warcomannia*. The story relates how Sergeant José Alves Baptista, chief of the Tutuala post, rowed out to and boarded the *Emden* and ordered it out of Portuguese waters!

The article "The Timor Problem - II: Some Australian Attitudes, 1903-1941", by Peter Hastings in *Australian Outlook*, East Melbourne, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp.180-196, August 1975, has some references to the World War I period concerning the possible sale and/or purchase of Portuguese Timor and lists some files from the Department of External Affairs on the matter.

There were many articles about Timor published in metropolitan magazines during World War I, but these dealt almost exclusively with plans for the development of the colony.

WORLD WAR II

The Sino-Japanese War had already made Portugal fearful for the future of its colony of Macau, and this fear made it increasingly difficult during the next few years for Portugal to resist Japanese demands for agricultural, trading and transport concessions with Timor. War broke out in Europe in September 1939, and by the time that Japan attacked the United States of America in December 1941 and began its rapid expansion throughout Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific Ocean most of continental Europe had been occupied by Germany and its allies. The Netherlands had fallen in 1940, but the East Indies remained in Free Dutch hands. Portugal remained neutral throughout the war. Portugal, Britain, Australia and the Free Dutch consulted on defensive moves to assist Portuguese Timor in case of a possible attack by Japan, but Dutch and Australian forces landed near Dili on December 17th, 1941, while there was still some doubt about Portuguese agreement in such a move. Portuguese forces were despatched to take over from the Dutch and Australian forces, but failure by the Japanese to guarantee safe passage for the Portuguese troop-transport delayed the vessel en route. The Japanese landed in Portuguese Timor on February 19th, 1942, and remained in occupation of the island until September 1945.

After the Japanese landings, the Australian forces withdrew to the mountains from where they organised a guerrilla war against the Japanese. The Australians were eventually evacuated via the south coast in early 1943. A number of Portuguese were also evacuated. There had been sharp divisions within the Portuguese community in Timor in respect of collaboration with the Allied Forces, both before and after the Japanese landings. Many of those Portuguese who remained in Timor for the duration of the occupation and a great number of Timorese lost their lives or underwent great privation, some of them at the hands of Timorese who were being organised by the Japanese. The majority of the remaining Portuguese were forced into a "zone of concentration" at Liquiça to await the outcome of the war.

A degree of bitterness is evident in some of the books of personal experiences of World War II in Timor published in Portugal, each of them being a matter of setting the record straight in response to an earlier publication...matters of those who collaborated with the Allies, those who tried to maintain strict neutrality, those who stayed, those who were evacuated, those who died. The first group of sources given below will be these books of personal experiences, listed in chronological sequence of printing (though in one case the book did not appear "in public" for over thirty years).

BOOKS OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Carlos Cal Brandão was a "deportado" who became a leading lawyer of the colony. He cooperated with the Allied Forces, and was among those evacuated to Australia where he became a translator, into Portuguese, for volunteers being trained for action in Timor. He acted as interpreter for a representative of the Australian Department of External Affairs at the Japanese surrender in Dili. His experiences are recorded in *Funo (Guerra em Timor) [Funo (War in Timor)]*, ("Funo" is a native word for "war"), Porto, Edições "AOV", (1946), 200pp.

Infantry Lieutenant António de Oliveira Liberato arrived in Timor with the new Governor in 1940 and became subaltern of the "companhia de Caçadores de Timor", a light infantry company. He remained in Timor until the end of the war. He was praised by the Governor for his actions as commander of the force entrusted with the repression of a Timorese revolt in the Fronteira region in August, September and October of 1942. His first book, which describes events in Timor up to November 1942, was *O Caso de Timor. Invasões estrangeiras, revoltas indígenas [The Case of Timor. Foreign Invasions, Native Revolts]*, by António Oliveira Liberato, Lisboa, Portugalia Editora, (1947), 243pp. He was very critical of the actions of some of the Portuguese officials and of those who were evacuated to Australia.

António Policarpo de Sousa Santos had been in Timor since at least 1936 and had held the post of Administrator of various regions. At the time of the invasion he was the Administrator of the Fronteira region. He cooperated with the Australian forces and was among the people evacuated to Australia, returning briefly to Timor at the end of the War before being repatriated to Portugal. He was one of the main targets of Liberato's book, and he replied with *Duas palavras ao capitão Liberato a propósito de "O Caso de Timor" [A few words to Captain Liberato concerning "The Case of Timor"]*, by A. de Sousa Santos, Lisboa, Excelsior, 1947, 148pp. A 2nd edition, with some small additions, was published in 1973---Lourenço Marques, Minerva Central, 142pp.

Captain Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho arrived in Timor in 1940 to take up the post of Governor of the colony. He remained in Timor until the end of the War in 1945. Certainly a most unenviable post to hold in that period, given the train of events already outlined, the demands from the Japanese for various measures to be taken by him, and the virtual impossibility in the later periods for confidential communication with the Central Government in Lisbon. Some controversy remains about some of his actions. His report on events during his tenure of that office was printed in 1947---*Relatório dos Acontecimentos de Timor [Report on the Events of Timor]*, Lisboa, Ministério das Colónias, 741pp---but it was suppressed. One commentator, writing in 1980, says that the order for it to be printed was given by Marcello Caetano, but Salazar ordered the storage of the complete edition in the "hold" of the Ministry of the Colonies, and that Salazar's displeasure may not have been at what the report said but rather with what it camouflaged. The Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa only received its first copy of the printed report in mid-1980, and, though I am pleased to be able to say that an anonymous donor has given a copy of it to The Timor Collection, Darwin, I know that various well-known institutions have not had much success in getting copies of it.

António de Oliveira Liberato published another book about the War in Timor, *Os japoneses estiveram em Timor [The Japanese were in Timor]*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1951, 337pp., which continues his story of events up to the end of the War. The author was imprisoned on the island of Alor from July 1944. He blames the action of some of the Portuguese in openly supporting the Australian guerrillas and the influence of this example on the Timorese for contributing to Timor being turned into a battleground.

Captain Bernard J. Callinan was Second in Command (later Officer Commanding) of the 2/2 Australian Independent Company which landed in Portuguese Timor on 17th December 1941. His book *Independent Company: the 2/2 and 2/4 Australian Independent Companies in Portuguese Timor, 1941-1943*, Melbourne, William Heinemann, 1953, xxxiii + 235pp., remains the sole book in the English language dealing exclusively with the War in Timor, and it only takes one up to the evacuation of the last Australian troops in early 1943. A paperback edition of the book was published by William Heinemann, Richmond, Vic., in 1984, the only alterations being on the title-page, viz., *Independent Company: The Australian Army in Portuguese Timor 1941-43*, by Bernard Callinan. One Portuguese commentator says that this book is scattered through the military academies of the world as a classic of military instruction on the speciality of mountain guerrilla warfare.

Doctor José dos Santos Carvalho arrived in Timor at the end of December 1940. He was appointed Health Delegate for the Central Zone of Portuguese Timor, and six months later for the Eastern Zone. In August 1943 he was placed in charge of the colony's Health Services. His book *Vida e morte em Timor durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial [Life and Death in Timor during the Second World War]*, Lisboa, Livraria Portugal, 1972, 209pp., encompasses the events from his arrival in Timor until the end of the War and the reports of the Colony's Health Services for the years 1943-1944-1945. The Library of the Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical, Lisbon, holds an unpublished typescript, "Estudos médicos timorenses" (1946), by this author which would be worthy of publication in some form; as well as more generally available information, it includes sections on traditional Timorese foods, therapeutics, beliefs about illnesses, and the medicinal plants of Timor.

Cacilda dos Santos Oliveira Liberato arrived in Portuguese Timor on 17th September 1936, the wife of Júlio Gouveia Leite, a civil servant. She was present at the massacre in Aileu on 1st October 1942 of Portuguese officials and soldiers, including her husband, who was at the time the Secretary of Suro District. She was enabled to escape with her children and those of some others. She married António de Oliveira Liberato in 1943. She wrote of her experiences in *Quando Timor foi notícia. Memórias [When Timor was news. Memoirs]*, Braga, Editora Pax, 1972, 207pp.

António Policarpo de Sousa Santos released another book in 1973--- *Também quero depor sobre Timor 1941-1946 [I too wish to testify about Timor 1941-1946]*, by A. de Sousa Santos, Lourenço Marques, Edição do autor, Minerva Central, 82pp. According to the author, this book was to have been published in 1946, but for some reason could not be. At that time he considered that Brandão's book *Funo (Guerra em Timor)* was the only reliable writing about events in Timor, especially about the Japanese occupation. This book by de Sousa Santos is very critical of what had been written about the state of affairs in Timor preceding and in the early days of the occupation.

Lieutenant Francisco Garcia de Brito was attached to the Headquarters of the Military Administration in Díli. He wrote of his experiences in *Tata-Mai-Lau. Timor contra o Japão 1941-1945 [Tata-Mai-Lau. Timor against Japan 1941-1945]*, Lisboa, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1977, 293 + 4pp. From their writings, it appears that Liberato and the Governor viewed him in a rather poor light. Written in 1946 from notes made while in the "zone of concentration", he presented it for publication to the Colonial Ministry, but, after being censored 3 times, the book was finally rejected in 1969. It is a much more personal account than those by other officials.

I am not aware of any books of personal experiences in Timor during World War II published in Portuguese since 1977. In the next section of these notes one will find a few articles with such experiences.

Up to this point copies of all of the listed works are held in The Timor Collection, Darwin. Copies of the works listed beyond this point are also held in The Timor Collection unless noted as "not held" (but seen) or "not seen" by this writer.

The rest of this list of sources is arranged alphabetically, mixing the major with the minor, the personal experiences with the eulogies, the odd incident with the diplomatic correspondence. The publication of diplomatic documents by the Portuguese Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros covering the years 1936-1947 and by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs covering the years 1937-1949 is a very important addition to documentation about Timor, for the growing concern on prewar economic and strategic matters as well as for the War itself.

OTHER BOOKS AND ARTICLES

"Actie (De) op Timor van December 1941 - December 1942" [Events in Timor from December 1941 to December 1942], *De Militaire Spectator*, 117:703-714, 1948. Not seen.

Arnáiz, Eusébio. *A Princesa Mártir. (Missões ao vivo em Timor) [The Martyr Princess. (Missions alive in Timor)]*, translated from the original Spanish by Pe. Manuel da Fonseca Moreira. Macau, Tipografia "Soi Sang Printing Press", 1951. ii + 129pp. The life of D. Virgínia das Mercês Doutel Sarmento e Cardoso, daughter of D. Vidal, the régulo of Samoro, wife of D. Alexandre Cardoso. Born 22nd July 1914; murdered 5th May 1943; eulogized by the missions as a martyr in the defence of conjugal chastity. The book has some interesting material on some of the indigenous ruling houses in Timor, in peace and in war.

Borges, Vasco. "Confiança e serenidade" [Confidence and serenity], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 18(199):113-115, Janeiro 1942. The author, a member of the National Assembly and former government minister, claims that the occupation of Portuguese Timor by Dutch-Australian forces could well bring about an attack by Japan. The Nation should await the decision to be made by the Government "with serenity and confidence".

Borges, Vasco. "O Caso de Timor" [The Case of Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 18(200):79-82, Fevereiro 1942. A comment on the good news that Portugal was sending troops to Timor to replace the Dutch-Australian forces. The author died before the Japanese landed in Timor.

C., V. "Um episódio da reocupação de Timor" [An episode in the reoccupation of Timor], *Defesa Nacional*, Lisboa, no.172:94-95, Agosto 1948. Not held. I have no notes on the actual contents of the copy seen at the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.

Caetano, Marcello. "Paixão e redenção de Timor" [Passion and Redemption of Timor], pp.123-162, in his *Factos e Figuras do Ultramar*, Lisboa, Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1973. 163pp. Excerpts from a speech given at the Centro Universitário do Porto da Mocidade Portuguesa in 1951. Also published in *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, Lisboa, 1(2):3-21, Abril-Junho 1951.

"Chegada (A) dos repatriados de Timor" [The arrival of the repatriates from Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 22(249):161-163, Março 1946. Description of the reception in Lisbon for the Portuguese who had been in Timor for the war's duration.

Coelho, Mario. "Páginas timorenses. Mano Loi morreu, mas 'ressuscitou' no fim da guerra" [Timorese pages. Mano Loi died, but 'revived' at the end of the war], *Revista do Ultramar*, Lisboa, 2a. série, 2(12):13-14, Junho 1949. Mano Loi, régulo of Fatu Bessi, helped provide food to Portuguese in the concentration zone at Liquiçá. On hearing that the Japanese had discovered this and ordered his execution, he arranged his own "death" and funeral. Food continued to arrive in the zone, and Mano Loi reappeared at war's end.

Dez Anos de Política Externa (1936-1947). A Nação Portuguesa e a Segunda Guerra Mundial [Ten Years of External Policy (1936-1947). The Portuguese Nation and the Second World war].
Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

Volume I. 2a. edição, 1973 [1a. edição, 1961]. 589pp.
Period covered: 4th September 1936 - 30th September 1938.
Many of the documents refer to Japanese expansion in the Far East, but the only one with a direct reference to Timor is No. 123 about the Brussels Conference, November 1937.

Volume II. 2a. edição, 1973 [1a. edição, 1962]. 639pp.
Period covered: 28th September 1938 - 3rd September 1939.
Documents referring to Timor: Nos. 462, 464, 492, 710, 713, 795.

Volume III. 1964. xix + 781pp.
Volume IV. 1965. vii + 828pp.
Volume V. 1967. viii + 961pp.
Volumes III, IV and V deal exclusively with the Spanish Civil War and contain no material about Timor.

Volume VI. 1970. ix + 724pp.
Period covered: 25th August 1939 - 11th May 1940.
Documents referring to Timor: Nos. 273, 279, 354, 441, 443, 480, 482, 485, 491, 496, 512, 521, 530, 538, 542, 558, 560, 562, 566, 580, 591, 615, 624, 627, 655. These deal mainly with Japanese interest in oil exploration in Timor and reactions in London, Washington, Canberra, Lisbon and Tokyo.

Volume VII. 1971. 840pp.
Period covered: 11th May 1940 - 31st December 1940.
Documents referring to Timor: Nos. 723, 1122, 1174, 1183, 1199, 1380.
Oil exploration, airlines, visas, Luso-Japanese relations.

Volume VIII. 1973. 745pp.
Period covered: 2nd January 1941 - 30th June 1941.
Documents referring to Timor: 1494, 1549, 1559, 1565, 1588, 1732, 1827.
Japanese international policy, airlines, correct neutrality of Portugal.

Volume IX. 1974. 577pp.
Period covered: 1st July 1941 - 5th November 1941.
Documents referring to Timor: 2173, 2248, 2258, 2264, 2368, 2376, 2410, 2413, 2415, 2419, 2421, 2425, 2427-2428, 2433, 2438, 2444-2446, 2448, 2451, 2459-2461, 2464-2465, 2484, 2488, 2505, 2510.
Air Accord with Japan and international reactions to it.

Volume X. 1974. 719pp.
Period covered: 5th November 1941 - 21st February 1942.
Documents referring to Timor: 2511, 2516, 2521-2522, 2526, 2535, 2543-2544, 2555-2556, 2563, 2565, 2569, 2596, 2630, 2636, 2638, 2642-2643, 2654-2655, 2660, 2662, 2665, 2670, 2678-2680, 2683, 2701, 2737-2738, 2741, 2745, 2759, 2769, 2772-2773, 2775, 2777, 2789, 2792, 2799, 2801, 2808, 2811-2813, 2815-2818, 2820, 2824-2829, 2832, 2834-2840, 2842-2843, 2846, 2848-2859, 2861-2865, 2867-2869, 2871-2879, 2881-2884, 2886-2893, 2895, 2900-2904, 2906-2908, 29122917, 2920-2925, 2932, 2934, 2938, 2940-2941, 2943-2944, 2950-2951, 2954, 2956, 2958, 2960-2963, 2966, 2971, 2973, 2982, 2994, 2997, 3010-3013, 3019, 3024, 3028, 3030, 3032-3033, 3036, 3039-3040, 3043, 3045, 3049, 3057-3058, 3085, 3092, 3096, 3098, 3115-3116, 3122, 3125, 3129, 3133, 3136, 3141-3143, 3145, 3147, 3155-3156, 3160, 3163, 3165, 3167, 3169-3173, 3176-3178.
Luso-British discussions about possibility of Japanese attack on Timor; Japanese airline; appointment of British Consul; landing of Dutch and Australian forces; Japanese landing; international reactions to these.

Volume XI. 1980. 613pp.
Period covered: 19th February 1942 - 6th October 1945.
With the exception of Documents 458-464, which deal with the Mozambique coast, this volume deals exclusively with matters relating to Timor, viz. Documents 1-457. The following is a translation of the chapter summaries:

Earliest consequences of the Japanese landing in Timor.
Negotiations for an accord between Portugal and the Allies with a view to the withdrawal of Dutch and Australian troops from the island overtaken, as also for the rendering of help to the local government.
Uncertainty as to the destination of the ships with Portuguese troops sent to replace the Allied Forces in Timor and to secure as well national sovereignty in the territory.
Vicissitudes of the Japanese occupation in the presence of the actions of Australian groups scattered through the Timorese mountains and alarm in the capital.
Initiative attributed to the English Consul in Dili with the object of obtaining a formal agreement of surrender of the Allied forces.

Interruption of direct communications from the Governor of Timor with the exterior.
Hardening of the attitude of the Japanese occupiers, notwithstanding the intense diplomatic activity developed from Lisbon with the purpose of asserting the position of a neutral country.
Worsening of the situation resulting from the outrages committed by the invaders and by the so-called "black columns".
Appeal for protection presented by the Governor of Timor to the Japanese command.
Internment of the Portuguese in determined zones of the island.
Isolation of the Governor from the other Portuguese.

Withdrawal of refugees from Timor to Australia.
Negotiations with the Australian authorities in connection with the presence of the Portuguese refugees in that country.
Appointment of a Portuguese Consul in Sydney to deal with the subject and action developed by this consular functionary.
In continuance of ceaseless diplomatic negotiations, the Lisbon Government proposes the journey to Timor of an official sent from Macau to find out the true situation on the island.

Signs of a change of situation in the Pacific.
Bombing of Dili.
Accords of Portugal with Great Britain and the United States for Portuguese participation in the operations for the reoccupation of Timor.
Softening of Japanese pressure on the island and change of attitude of the occupiers in relation to the Portuguese.
Dispatch of a military expedition to Timor.
Official announcement of the end of hostilities.
The return of Timorese territory to Portuguese sovereignty.

Documents on Australian Foreign Policy 1937-49.
Canberra, Department of Foreign Affairs.

Volume I: 1937-38. 1975. xlvi + 617pp.
Documents referring to Portuguese Timor:
Aviation, 68, 100, 119, 172, 176, 207.
Oil exploration, 18-19, 49-51, 57-59, 61-63, 87, 94, 98-100, 102, 113, 116, 118, 120, 131, 230, 232-233, 329, 332.

Volume II:1939. 1976. xvli + 548pp.
Documents referring to Portuguese Timor:
Aviation, 38, 71, 97, 102, 115-116, 130, 323.
Oil exploration, 12, 15, 44, 50, 53, 53E, 54, 69, 71, 95-96, 98, 121, 126, 131, 135, 238, 241, 252, 261, 349, 377, 387, 389, 417.

Volume III: January-June 1940. 1979. lvii + 579pp.
Documents referring to Portuguese Timor:
Aviation, 104.
Oil exploration, 1, 9, 50, 97-98, 101, 104, 122-124, 127, 137, 161, 171, 176, 181, 200, 259, 278, 298.

Volume IV: July 1940-June 1941. 1980. lxviii + 795pp.
Documents referring to Portuguese Timor:
Australian relations with and representation in Portuguese Timor, 241, 257, 262-263, 274, 361, 506; Trade relations, 309.

Volume V:July 1941-June 1942. 1982. lxxi + 906pp.
Documents referring to Timor:
Dispatch of Australian forces to Ambon, Koepang and Namlea, 3, 69, 85, 130.
Defence of Portuguese Timor, 62, 84-85, 153.
Japanese influence in Portuguese Timor, 74, 84, 89.
Allied landing and campaign in Portuguese Timor, 178, 180, 186-187, 191, 195, 200-202, 225, 228-229, 232-235, 258, 263, 267, 284, 320, 337, 522, 527-528.
Dispatch of Australian forces to Netherlands Timor, 318, 332.
Appointment of Ross as Consul in Portuguese Timor, 89, 99.
Evacuation of Ross from Portuguese Timor, 300, 320, 482, 488, 507, 516, 528, 533.

Volume VI: July 1942-December 1943. 1983. lvii + 677pp.
Documents referring to Timor:
Netherlands Timor, 330, 334.
Portuguese Timor, Japanese occupation of, 12, 45, 53, 88, 117, 120, 139, 146, 220, 229, 233n, 246.
Post-war plans for, 153, 233-234, 237, 292, 305, 308, 330, 334, 344.
Repatriation of Australian representative from, 2, 3.
Repatriation of Portuguese from, 130.
Note that some of the documents in this volume only mention Timor in passing, as part of the general war situation.

"Entrevista sôbre Timor" [Interview about Timor], *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, Macau, XLVI(527):200-203, Março 1948.
An interview with Padres Januário Coelho da Silva and Manuel Silveira Luís, two Portuguese missionaries who were among those evacuated during the War to Australia.

Ferreira, Manuel. "III. Jeremias de Luca", pp.61-83, in *Figuras Portuguesas de Timor. Homenagem a Celestino da Silva [Portuguese Figures of Timor. Homage to Celestino da Silva]*, Díli-Timor Português, Imprensa Nacional, 1961. 85pp. Biographical notes on Jeremias dos Reis Amaral, chief of the suco of Luca in the Viqueque region. Born 1898; murdered 1943 for giving aid to Portuguese fugitives and Australian troops, and for fidelity to the Portuguese flag.

"Fim (O) da Guerra no Oriente e a libertação do território português de Timor" [The end of the War in the East and the liberation of the Portuguese territory of Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 21(242-243):97-102, Agosto-Setembro 1945. Includes announcement of the order by the Japanese Government for its forces in Timor to surrender; messages to the Portuguese Government from the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, South African Prime Minister, Dutch Foreign Minister, Governor of Macau, Chinese Community of Macau; an editorial from the *Diário da Manhã*, 15 Agosto 1945.

"Fim (O) da guerra no Oriente e a situação de Macau e Timor" [The end of the War in the East and the situation in Macau and Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 21(244):130-141, Outubro 1945. Includes a telegram from the Governor of Timor advising of the arrival of Portuguese vessels; a telegram from the commander of those vessels; a motion approved by the Colonial Commission of the National Union; press reports from Macau correspondents; an article by Prof. A.A. Mendes Correia from the *Jornal do Comércio;* and an editorial from *Diário da Manhã*.

Fysh, Hudson. "Australia's unknown neighbour: Portuguese Timor". *Walkabout*, Sydney, 7(7):6-15, May 1, 1941. Hudson Fysh, the Managing Director of Qantas Empire Airways Ltd., visited Dili in January 1941. A fortnightly flying-boat service had just been established between Darwin and Dili. Fysh had discussions with the Governor of Timor concerning Australian representation there, a Japanese air-service from Palau Island to Dili, and pressure for a Japanese Consulate. This is an article describing life in Dili and the economy of Timor written for a popular monthly travel magazine.

Gill, G. Hermon. *Royal Australian Navy 1942-1945.* Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1968. xviii + 753pp. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series 2: Navy, Volume II. Timor on pp.88, 126, 264, 351, 398, 410, 468; supply and relief of Australians, evacuation of Portuguese, 176-181, 213-224; Japanese surrender in Timor, 693-694. Sketch map, p.217.

Hastings, Peter. "The Timor Problem - II: Some Australian Attitudes, 1903-1941", *Australian Outlook,* East Melbourne, 29(2):180-196, August 1975. Already referred to in the section on World War I, this article summarizes material in the Australian Archives showing the growing Australian concern about Japanese influence in Timor. The article ends at the point of a Secret Naval Intelligence Officer being sent to Timor as a civil aviation technical representative.

Hastings, Peter. "The Timor Problem - III: Some Australian Attitudes, 1941-1950", *Australian Outlook,* Canberra, 29(3):323-334, December 1975. Based on official Australian documents, this article covers the arrival in Timor of an Australian representative, the Dutch and Australian landings, the Japanese invasion, Portuguese refugees in Australia, arrangements for the Japanese surrender.

"Imprensa (A) e as declarações do Chefe do Govêrno acêrca do incidente de Timor" [The Press and the declarations of the Chief of Government about the Timor incident], *Boletim Geral das Colónias,* Lisboa, 18(200):115-125, Fevereiro 1942. Comment in the daily press, including *Jornal do Comércio, Diário de Notícias, O Século, Diário da Manhã* and *Diário de Lisboa,* in response to Salazar's statements to the National Assembly.

In memoriam a Artur do Canto Resende, Engenheiro Geógrafo. (Herói e Mártir da Pátria em Timor). 1897-1945 [In Memoriam to Artur do Canto Resende, Geographical Engineer. (Hero and Martyr of the Homeland in Timor). 1897-1945]. Lisboa, Sindicato Nacional dos Engenheiros Geógrafos, 1956. 152pp. Artur do Canto Resende was Assistant Chief of the Geographical Mission of Timor and later Administrator of the Dili Council. He was arrested by the Japanese on 10th July 1944 and imprisoned on the island of Alor. He died there on 23rd February 1945. This book contains a chronological summary of his life, of events in Timor during World war II, and of ceremonies and articles in his honour up to 1956, some of these articles and speeches being reproduced. There had been a few earlier and smaller publications in his honour, but I have omitted them from this list.

"Inquérito (O) a Timor" [Inquiry to Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias,* Lisboa, 20(226):3, Abril 1944. Official note from Salazar announcing that Captain Silva e Costa had left Macau for a visit to see the current situation in Timor. This is also reproduced as Document No. 220 in Volume XI of *Dez Anos de Política Externa.*

"Japansche (De) penetratie in Portugeesch Timor" [The Japanese penetration in Portuguese Timor], *De Indische Gids,* Amsterdam, 60(1):175-176, 1938. A Dutch view of the growing Japanese economic involvement in Portuguese Timor. Not held.

Leitão, Humberto José dos Santos. *O Régulo Timorense D. Aleixo Corte-Real [The Timorese regulo D. Aleixo Corte-Real]*, by Humberto Leitão. Lisboa, Edição do Grupo de Estudos de História Marítima, 1970. 27pp.
Leitão, who had been interim governor of Portuguese Timor for two very short periods in the 1920s, discusses the different versions of events leading to the death of D. Aleixo at the hands of the Japanese. Not held.

Liberato, António de Oliveira. "O Capitão Freire da Costa". *Revista Militar*, Lisboa, 98(6):278-284, Junho 1946. Liberato's personal reminiscences of Captain António Maria Freire da Costa's life and death in Timor. Freire da Costa was killed and his wife suicided during the attack by a "coluna negra" on Aileu, 1st October 1942. Not held.

Long, Gavin. *The Final Campaigns*. Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1963. xx + 667pp. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series 1: Army, Volume VII. Some information about Timor after the ceasefire on pp.569-573; Allied Intelligence Bureau in Timor, 618-619; references in passing, 11-12, 77, 93, 520, 553-555.

Lopes, Martinho da Costa. "D. Aleixo Corte Real, um herói já lendário do nosso século" [D. Aleixo Corte Real, an already legendary hero of our century], *Defesa Nacional*, Lisboa, Nos.193-194:18-21, Maio-Junho 1950. Another article about this victim of the Japanese. The author is a Timorese priest and former Deputy in the National Assembly. Not held.

McCarthy, Dudley. *South-West Pacific Area—First Year: Kokoda to Wau*. Canberra, Australian war Memorial, 1959. xiv + 656pp. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series i: Army, Volume V.
See Appendix 2: Timor, pp.598-624, about Australian military operations in the year following the Japanese landing; other references to Timor on pp.12, 16, 34, 68, 69, 72, 76, 82, 86, 190-191, 588.

Magro, António Jacinto. "Tropa e Aquartelamentos de Timor. Subsídio para a História das Unidades Militares da Colónia. Outubro de 1937 a Maio de 1940" [Troops and Quarters of Timor. Contribution to the history of the military units of the Colony. October 1937 to May 1940]. Separata (offprint) from *Revista Militar*, Lisboa, 99(2):89-97, Fevereiro 1947; 99(3):132-149, Março 1947; 99(4):207-225, Abril 1947. Major Magro arrived in Timor with Governor Alvaro da Fontoura in September 1937 to become Director of the Public Works Service. Much new military and civil construction was undertaken in the next few years, particularly with new quarters in Maubisse. The author also describes the great damage caused by the May 1939 cyclone.

Marien, William. Story of the Australian commandoes in Timor, 1941-42. Typescript in 7 parts prepared for the press by a war correspondent, part 7 being by Damien Parer, cinematographer to the Department of Information. These articles appeared in Australian newspapers, including the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in January 1943. Held in the Manuscripts Collection, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Reg. No. A2598. Not seen.

Martinho, José Simões. *D. Aleixo Corte-Real, Português de Timor*. Lisboa, Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1974. 41pp. "Figuras e Feitos de Alem-Mar", No.20. This is a 2nd edition of *Vida e morte do régulo timorense D. Aleixo*. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 34pp. Colecção {Pelo Império{, No.119. A biography of D. Aleixo. Captain Martinho had been in Timor in the 1930s.

Martins, Armando. *Portugal e o Japão. (Subsídios para a história diplomática) [Portugal and Japan. (Contributions towards diplomatic history)]*. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955. 219pp.
Includes the Air Accord for the establishment of a service between Palau and Timor (1941); Japanese note about the landing of her troops in Timor (1942); measures taken by Portugal on Japanese property in Portugal (1946); Portuguese note on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations (1953).

Miranda, Manuel Simões de. "A ocupação japõnesa" [The Japanese occupation], in *I Jogos Florais do Serviço de Reabilitação Profissional*, Lisboa, Serviço de Reabilitação Profissional, 1969. pp.29-33. The author tells of his escape from Timor in 1942, arriving in Portugal in 1944 at the age of 7 years.

Morris, Cliff. "Australia and East Timor during World war II - One Aussie's account. Interview with Cliff Morris. *Retrieval*, Fitzroy, Vic., No.36: 12-21, April-May 1977. Transcript of a radio interview. The author was in Timor as a member of the Australian 2/4 Independent Company from September 1942 to January 1943. He talks of guerrilla actions against the Japanese, relations with the Timorese, his visit to Timor in 1973, and the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

Moyes, John F. *Mighty Midgets*. Sydney, N.S.W. Bookstall, 1946.
viii + 189pp. The story of Australia's "little ships" during World war II. See Chapter VII. "The Timor Guerrillas—*Armidale* dies fighting", pp.87-107. Concerns the "Timor ferries", the ships making the run from Darwin to the south coast of Timor to take reinforcements or to evacuate civilians and troops in the first year of the Japanese occupation.

Nortier, J.J. "Indische Engelandvaarders; een greep uit vele belevenissen", *Legerkoerier*, 27(2):7-9, 1977. Not seen. The following summary is from *Itinerario*, Leyden, Nos.3-4, Item no.0893, 1977.
"Account of the escape from Timor and Flores to Australia of six Dutch members of the colonial army in Indonesia (KNIL) during the Pacific War (March 1942)."

Odgers, George. *Air War against Japan, 1943-1945*. Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1957. xiii + 533pp. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series 3: Air, Volume II.
There are no substantial sections of the text about Timor in this book, but reports of air-raids and other mentions in passing are given on pp.4, 7, 38, 44, 50, 58, 60, 63, 66, 112, 118-120, 216-218, 228, 233, 238, 244, 302, 313-315, 402, 403.

"Odisseia (A) do actual Bispo de Dîli ou a História da sua fuga com outros missionários para a Austrália durante a ocupação de Timor" [The odyssey of the present Bishop of Dili or the story of his flight with other missionaries to Australia during the occupation of Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 22(252):107-109, Junho 1946. Reprinted from *A Voz*, Lisboa, which had translated it from an article in *The Catholic Weekly*, Sydney.
The Bishop was Mgr. Jaime Garcia Goulart who was the Apostolic Administrator of Dili at the time of the occupation.

Pessers, Jakobus. "Onze Timor-Missie in de Oorlog" [Our Timor Mission in the War", *De Katholieke Missien*, Freiburg, January 1946, pp.10-14.
Not seen. Mgr. Pessers was Apostolic Vicar of Dutch Timor.

Piggott, Michael. "Southeast Asian materials in the War Memorial Library". *SEARMG Newsletter*, Canberra, No.17:4-8, December 1980. The author, from the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, points out the official histories of World War II which have substantial material about Timor, summarizes the Southeast Asian materials in the categories of War Diaries, Written Records, publications of the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section and Allied Geographical Section, Far East Liaison Organisation leaflets, and Visual Records, adding a list of "Written Records: some files on Timor, 1941-1946".

"Questão (A) de Timor" [The Timor Question], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 20(223):124-126, Janeiro 1944. An editorial from *Diário da Manhã*, Lisboa, about the Government's efforts to find a solution to the Timor problem.

"Restabelecimento (O) pleno da autoridade portuguesa de Timor" [The full re-establishment of Portuguese authority in Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 22(250):211-120, Abril 1946. Three decrees by Governor Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho. Portaria No. 1:137-A thanks the Portuguese in Timor for their actions during the Japanese occupation, a number of them being praised individually; Portaria No. 1:143 thanks all those who have participated in the Portuguese reoccupation of East Timor; Portaria No. 1:144 praises the "chefe de posto" of Fohorém for his actions during a native revolt in 1942.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. "Exposição de S. Exa. o Sr. Presidente do Conselho acêrca dos sucessos de Timor" [Statement of His Excellency the President of the Council concerning the events in Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 18(199):3-12, Janeiro 1942. Salazar's statement to the National Assembly on 19th December 1941 about the landing by Dutch and Australian forces in East Timor. A full English translation is given on pp.180-187. The statement is also reproduced as Document No. 2854 in Volume X of *Dez Anos de Política Externa*.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. "Comunicação de S. Exa. o Presidente do Conselho à Assembleia Nacional acêrca do ataque nipónico a Timor" [Communication of His Excellency the President of the Council to the National Assembly concerning the Japanese attack on Timor], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 18(200):10-14, Fevereiro 1942. Salazar's communication of 21st February 1942. A full English translation is given on pp.174-178. The communication is also reproduced as Document No. 3170 in Volume X of *Dez Anos de Política Externa*.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. "Comunicação do Sr. Presidente do Conselho à Assembleia Nacional" [Communication of the President of the Council to the National Assembly], *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Lisboa, 19(222):3-16, Dezembro 1943. Salazar's communication of 26th November 1943 regarding the recent Anglo-Portuguese agreement, Portugal's position in the face of the international conflict, and the problem concerning Macau and Timor. An English translation is given on pp.135-137 of the section dealing with Macau and Timor. The section dealing with Macau and Timor is also reproduced as an annex to Document No. 189 in Volume XI of *Dez Anos de Política Externa*.

Santa, José Duarte. "Uma página da ocupação Japonesa..." [A page from the Japanese occupation...], *Defesa Nacional*, Lisboa, Nos. 193-194:39-40, Maio-Junho 1950. Not held. I have no notes on the actual contents of this article seen at the SGL beyond the fact that a footnote stated that it was an excerpt from a book to be published entitled "410 dias nas prisões japonesas de Alor" [410 days in the Japanese prisons of Alor]. As far as I am aware, the book was never published. The author had worked in the Administration of the Dili Council, was appointed "chefe de posto" of Liquiçá in March 1944, and was a prisoner of the Japanese on Alor from July 1944 until August 1945.

Schulte Nordholt, H.G. "Besturen in een vacuüm; uit het dagboek van een controleur in Timor (20 februari - 7 april 1942)". pp.156-175 in *Besturen overzee; herinneringen van oud-ambtenaren bij het binnenlands bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië; met een inleiding uitgegeven door S.L. van der Wal.* Franeker, Wever, 1977. 331pp. Not seen. The following summary is from *Itinerario*, Leyden, Nos. 3-4, Item no.0962.
"This article is based on passages from the diary of the author who was controleur in Kefamnanoe (Dutch Timor) in the period 1939-1942 and 1945-1947. Data were checked in 1970 by personal interviews in Timor with those referred to in this article. The period which is described is that between the first Japanese landings in Timor and the final occupation of this territory which for the greater part had only been "pacified" in the period between 1905 and 1915. On these eight weeks between February 20 and April 5, 1942, a personal account is given which tells a story of panic, desertion, improvisation and containment of local unrest."

Silva, Rogério de Oliveira. "Timor após a guerra" [Timor after the war], *Defesa Nacional*, Lisboa, Nos. 193-194:26, Maio-Junho 1950. Not held.
I have no notes on the copy seen at the SGL.

Soares, José de Freitas. "Notas extraídas do meu diário, no decurso de uma expedição a Timor, quando ali se encontravam as tropas japonesas" [Notes extracted from my diary, in the course of an expedition to Timor, when Japanese troops were there], *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, Lisboa, 49:57-152, 1979. Colonel José de Freitas Soares went to Timor as Chief-of-Staff of the Expeditionary Forces Detachment sent there in 1945 to help restore Portuguese authority.

Sousa, Fernando Louro de. "Moçambique na defesa de Africa e do Ultramar Português" [Mozambique in the defence of Africa and of the Portuguese Overseas], *Revista Militar*, Lisboa, 2o. século, 3(12):783-815, Dezembro 1951. See pp.811-814. Major de Sousa comments on the suitability of Timor for guerrilla warfare; reinforcements sent in January 1942 who were ordered back to Mozambique; details of forces and supplies sent to Timor at the end of World War II. Not held.

Thomas, William J. *Yanks and Aussies in battle: official photographs of Pacific War from Pearl Harbor to Timor.* Sydney, N.S.W. Bookstall, c.1943. 32pp. Timor on pp.16-19; 11 photographs.

"Timor, December 1941 - December 1942". pp.54-78 in *Het Koninklijk Indische Leger in den strijd tegen Japan [The Royal Indies Army in the fight against Japan].* Not seen.

Vaz, J. Ferraro. *Moeda de Timor [Currency of Timor]*. Lisboa, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, 1964. 173pp.
Plates XII, XIII and XIV of this book bear full-colour reproductions of the paper currency circulated by the Japanese during their occupation of Timor.

Wallis, Norman K. "Peace comes to Dilli". *Walkabout*, Sydney, 12(4):29-32, February 1, 1946. The author was a member of the Australian party which arrived at Dili on 23rd September 1945 on board the H.M.A.S. Moresby to take part in the ceremony "which was to mark the restoration of Portuguese Timor to its rightful owners." He describes the festivities in Dili and his visits to Aileu and Maubisse.

Wigmore, Lionel. *The Japanese Thrust*. Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1957. xvii + 715pp. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series 1: Army, Volume IV.
See Chapter 21, "Resistance in Timor", on pp.466-494, which covers events from December 1941 to early March 1942. Other references to Timor, some just in passing, are on pp.41, 43, 57, 59, 69, 76, 83, 111, 130, 179, 184, 206, 256, 260, 392, 418-420, 423, 427, 438, 443, 445, 450, 451, 456, 511, 534, 538, 593, 634, 677.

Yanaghisawa, Takéshi. "Timor and Macao". *Contemporary Japan*, Tokyo, 10(10):1285-1299, October 1941. An economic survey of Timor and Macau in a periodical published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. The author says, "It is clear that Timor and Macao...will develop close relations in political, economic and cultural fields with Japan with whom they are in geographical propinquity."

ADDENDUM

Michael Piggott in his article listed above, "Southeast Asian materials in the War Memorial Library", refers to Timor events being covered in Chapter 22 of *Royal Australian Air Force 1939-1942* by D. Gillison. Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 19--. "Australia in the War of 1939-1945", Series 3: Air, Volume I. Not seen.

In conclusion, it is clear that a definitive history of Timor during the Second World War, even a purely "military" history, is still to be published. I have the impression that the Portuguese, Dutch, Australians and Japanese each in their turn do not have much idea of what has been published in each of the other languages. There would probably still be much untapped material in the relevant archives of each country. There would still be many participants in these events who could write down or commit to audio tape their recollections of that period. One other very important source seems yet to be untapped—the Timorese themselves.

I would be grateful if any other material dealing with Timor during World Wars I and II could be brought to my attention.

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